5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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the old church ruins. The chief and the officials all spoke Spanish, but the only one who knew how to read and write was the town secretary, a 15-year old boy.

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After dark the Indians gathered in front of the municipal house and presently some of the elders made signs that they wanted to talk to us. We followed them into the dark out of earshot of the agent, where the Indians told us of all their sorrows and difficulties, asking if we could not help them. They said that the agent tried to raise unjust taxes, that they were forced to do much work for the Municipal President of Ocosingo and did not have time to look after their own corn fields, and also that they were molested by the managers of the neighbouring properties. They asked us to bring their complaints before the Central Government, which we have done.

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From there our route followed the main trail, or Camino Real, between Chilon and Ocosingo. A few hours ride through pine forest brought us to the top of a pass from where we had a magnificent view over the Ocosingo Valley. We could see the Indian village of Sivacá, and the white walled, red tiled houses of the Mexican town Ocosingo, lying on a green carpet of extensive grazing land. Down over the mountain side we scrambled towards the valley bottom, and by noon the hoofs of our animals clattered against the cobbled stones of Ocosingo's streets.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón
Sivacá

621 Bachajon and Sivacá are governed through native officials selected from among the men of repute in the tribe by the Mexican Government, more or less in accordance with the Indians' wishes. They serve for definite terms, usually two years, and may be reappointed. Bachajon Village, organized when the whole tribe was concentrated there, has two complete administrations, each with a 624 president, council, and secretary. At Sivacá the only official is the *alcalde*, who carries as insignia a staff, *barra*, 1.50 meters long, decorated with a double cross in black at the head. The secretaries [212] are chosen primarily for literacy; the others are older men of influence in the tribe. The great respect with which they are treated by the natives indicates that the selections accord fairly well with those they would make themselves.

648 Each group is in the charge of a resident Mexican official called 651 the *Maestro*, corresponding to our Reservation Agent. He is appointed by the Presidente Municipal of the local government. He is paid with taxes collected by himself from the Indians in produce or money, to which he adds commissions obtained from his services as a labour agent, the profits of trade in a few staples, and receipts from travelers, for whom his house is the official guest-house.

648 Ordinarily the *Maestro* does not give his orders directly to the 622 Indians, but works through the native president, who may openly 621 oppose him if he see fit, though he is in some degree bound to obey. The influence and power of the *Maestro* depends upon the individual, and on the temper of the Indians under him. In extreme cases he will send for troops, a measure greatly dreaded, as the soldiers, once arrived, may stay indefinitely, helping themselves freely to the pigs and chickens of the natives, and generally making themselves objectionable.

648 In addition to those appointed by the Government, the Indians 622 accord obedience and respect to a considerable body of purely 624 native officials. The only ones fulfilling a civic function are the class known as *Principales*, who exist chiefly among the Bachajon. They are men who know how to read and write Spanish, living in places more available to the outlying Indians than the Secretaries at Bachajon Village, and are usually men in whom confidence is reposed. Although they hold their position without official selection, but by general consent, they are recognized by the Mexicans with whom they deal as holding a sort of power of attorney for their people. They examine and sign written documents, and compose communications from the Indians to the Government. Through this they gain an influence with which, if they be men of force, they may become leaders of real power in their own districts. A *Principale* whom we met at El Encanto, where he had come in to buy salt, was

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Mexico NU1

tional economy and polity at a more rapid pace than has ever occurred in the past. Typical of this new movement is the recently established ejido of Brindis, formed by a core of landless Indians from the town working with acculturated Indians from Teopisca. Whether the political unity which has developed in the course of establishing their claim to the land will continue to provide a base for community development will depend on the encouragement and support by national institutions.

Within Indian communities of highland Chiapas, the ejido program has weakened age-authority principles in the family and in the civil hierarchy (Day n.d., Edel n.d.). Sons are no longer primarily dependent on their fathers for acquiring economic independence. Ejido Commission leaders have broken the monopoly of power by a gerontocracy of principales. Outside of the community, however, the political and economic potential of the ejido has not yet been fully realized. As the new ejidos such as Brindis develop, they may break the old community boundaries that contained and limited the power of the ejidatarios. With rising literacy, many Indians now read the *Codigo Agraria* sold in neighboring markets, and they are increasingly conscious of their rights. If unity across township boundaries could be achieved, the new ejidos might become an effective political force in regional and national spheres.

Wage Labor and Occupational Specialties

The agriculturalists of the community do work as both exchange and paid laborers in the following forms: reciprocal exchange, part time labor and part-time independent agricultural work, and forestry.[1] Wage work is considered only a supplement to independent self-employment for all but twenty agricultural employees who work full-time on a finca within the township.

Payments for agricultural labor within the community are lower than the prevailing rate outside of the town and are higher in the fincas of hot country than in the highlands. When men work on the fincas of landowners in the neighboring township, they prefer payment by the task (*tarea*) rather than by the day, since they can usually complete two tareas by

1. See Richard N. Adams (1964:48) for a discussion of the forms of rural labor.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *huʔeletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzoʔontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
55	½		2	2
55	½		2	2
55	½	2	2	3
60	½		2	3
60	½		1	3
60	½		4	3
62	½	1	2	3
65	½		2	3
65	½	4	4	6
65	½		6	5
75	½		5	6
87	½		4	4

from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly.

The second course of civil careers is to serve as síndico and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as síndico, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and síndico (Table 25). None of the former presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president and then serve as síndico, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election.

The household head enters religious office first as *nil'nal* or junior mayordomo, then serves as *ʔaliʔbal*, or assistant, next as *tatil*, or elder mayordomo of a lesser saint. The fourth position is tatil of San Pedro, after which comes *kobraria*, or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as tatil of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as nakawane in household ceremonials. He

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 178 177 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 621 794 578 177 178 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and authority and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, specifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal and priest in the religious authority.

[212] [191] [756] The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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212 *We shall go with your child, your offspring to pass the holy day, the holy*
621 *year. Thank you, thanks to your heart that you permit your child, your offspring to go. Now we go to receive the holy post with all the elders. The spirit of your child, your offspring shall learn."*

When the fourth regidor finished the pat?o?tan, my mother spoke: "Thank you, Take care of him. I do not want him to return to me drunk. He hasn't yet learned to drink."

I went out with two of the regidores on my right side and the other two on the left. When we arrived, the first judge spoke to us in the pat?o?tan: "You have brought before us our writer. It is well that you arrived with him. Enter and sit down."

I sat down in the middle of the regidores. When we sat down, the first judge and the president began to speak. All were gathered in the town hall. [*Ceferino then listed all the civil officials by name, a feat of memory which I shall not repeat here.*]

[593] *We sat down and they brought in two liters of trago. They began the pat?o?tan, and after the pat?o?tan the third regidor came to measure the trago. He gave the first measure to the president, the second to the first judge, the third to the second judge, the fourth to me, the writer. And I was not accustomed much to drink liquor. I took the trago and I drank it. It was killing me. It came out my nose. The judges and regidores saw my suffering when it came out my nose. They patted my back, and with some difficulty the trago went down. Thus with suffering and with trouble, I learned to drink trago. But then I got drunk. I felt drunk, and I told the judge and regidores that I was going to die. The first judge ordered the regidor to go with me to my house.*

He said, "Go leave him in his house because his mother said that I should return him to his house. See that you hand over her poor son to his mother."

[593] *Since I did not have a wife—I was a bachelor—they gave me to my mother. My mother said, "Thank you." They ordered my mother to send me the next day because we had to see how another day passed.*

When I left in 1925, I didn't return to the town hall until 1936 when the pueblo asked me to stay as president.

7a Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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witz had formed a small *cacicazgo* (supporters of a cacique) of armed men. Because of their influence with departmental officials since the land grant, they had secured an order to reassign lots in the center, putting one family from Yetawitz in each block. The reaction of the townspeople to this "invasion" of barrio Indians was immediate and conclusive, as Ceferino's account reveals:

The owners of the house lots here objected to having their lots seized. They went to a lawyer in San Cristóbal, and they also had the help of the professor here. He was a good professor. We walked with the professor. The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles. The people from Yetawitz went to another lawyer in San Cristóbal. They got an order that the people of the pueblo would have to admit the people of Yetawitz. We returned to the lawyer. He asked where these people were from. We said they were from Huistán. They were well armed. Because of this, we went to take over their arms.

When we arrived at their house, Juan asked, "What are you here for?" We answered, "We came to get your rifles."

They refused to give them up, but we seized their property. We tied up the men and carried them up to the pueblo. We dragged them like dogs up to the jail and put them in.

They asked, "Why are you putting us in jail?" and we answered, "Tomorrow we will arrange the case."

Four police stayed there. The next morning I came to see them. They had planned to go to Las Casas, but we ordered the saddles taken off the horses that were in readiness. We tried them, and they no longer bothered the pueblo.

The Huistecan's attempt to seize power reveals several significant factors in the genesis of cummunity political institutions. In the 1930s in Chiapas, the land reform act of 1927 was taking effect. Translation of law into reality in the local community required the drive and leadership of the Indians themselves. Literacy and Spanish-speaking skills were of even greater importance than before. The Indians of the center who had not been forced to work in the fincas and who had sufficient resources to resist contact with the outside economy were not in a position to take a leader-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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hundred and fifty pesos for a dress. The padre said I couldn't buy it there. He told me to send for one in Mexico that cost five hundred and fifty pesos. He wanted to make the profit.

The fiscal. As an intermediary between the traditional religious officials and the priest, the fiscal is the target for both sides of the religious controversy. The priest selects the fiscal, but his retention of the post depends on his being accepted by the mayordomos. The tendency in the past fifteen years since a regular priest has been assigned to the community is to choose a man who speaks Spanish and can read and write, but who can be dominated by the priest. The following statement by a man who served in this post in 1929 defines the functions of the fiscal as the Indians see them:

When I served as fiscal, I knew how to sell [*the Indians use the verb* to sell *in reference to any propaganda—whether commercial, political, or religious*] *the catechism. After the prayer, I cleaned the patio. I held the key to the church. I saw* [*in the sense of watch over*] *all the mayordomos. I bought the candles and incense for the saints. At midday the mayordomos and I left the church and went home. There was no padre living here then, and the padre from San Cristóbal came only on the days of San Francisco, Virgin Santa Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and Santiago. Each Sunday, the ten mayordomos and I entered the church and prayed in the true language.*

Prayers are now given in Spanish by the fiscal and the prayer-reciters under the guidance of the lay sisters, who remain most of the time in the convento. The fiscal, as a consequence, is no longer selected on the basis of his ability to recite the pat'o'tan. Since one of the main tasks of the fiscal is to take care of the church, several recent incumbents have been jeered as being like women, cleaning house and responding to the bidding of the priests. Some have suggested that one was a homosexual. They blame the fiscales for letting control over the domain of the church fall into the hands of the priest.

A man who had filled the post himself, described the careers of several former fiscales:

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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while he was fiscal. He let control over the key to the church and the donation boxes slip into the hands of the priest. His opponents accused him of weakness and failure to act in the interest of the town. The careers of these fiscales illustrate the pitfalls for those filling the post. First, there is the temptation for personal gain, since the fiscal has access to the money of the saints: in the past three fiscales have been charged with robbery. Second, there is the problem that the fiscal serves two masters, the priest and the head cofrade, each of whom has different standards of conduct for the role: when the selection of the fiscal was in the hands of the cofrades, they chose a man who knew the pat'o'tan and who was to deal directly with the curers in rituals at the cave of the ancestors and in the homes of the cofrades; now he is chosen by the priest who prefers a young, literate man. If the fiscal follows the commands of the priest, he runs into problems with the cofrades. This was the difficulty with Antonio, who was put out of office by the cofrades because he yielded to the priest's demands to improve the convento and the church. As long as the conflict in interests between the priest and the traditional authorities exist, there is no successful position for the fiscal to take.

Conflict and Social Change

In the contest for leadership which has and is occurring, the following observations can be made on the basis of the events described.

1. The community has successfully incorporated the young, literate men into the framework of the traditional hierarchy. This has been accomplished by expanding the scope of activities of the president and síndico and by relieving them of serving in the lower posts of the hierarchy.

2. The ceremonial role of the principales serves as a symbol of continuity in government both in the tie they have with the past and in the annual changeover of officials.

3. The threat of foreign Indians in the township misusing their skills in dealing with the outside world has been overcome by removing them from office and preventing them from filling high posts.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Teopisca. The schoolmaster said, "Don't cry, Ceferino. I am not going to beat you because you will learn to write. It is good to know how to write. You will speak Spanish because you will hear it, and you will look at the letters because the letters are the same as they are spoken in Spanish. Sit down now, and come tomorrow."

Then I told my mother to look for a slate and chalk because every morning and afternoon I wrote. She was of one heart and did not cry when she heard how I entered in the school.

For the most part, the teachers rely on authority in their program of instruction rather than encouraging the active involvement of students. In the early years of the school, there was a rapid turnover of teachers, but the employment of a schoolmaster with his wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The children respond with respect and fear to the schoolmaster, and occasionally with interest and enthusiasm. The following reminiscences by the informant, Ceferino, reflect the fear, tempered by some pleasure and interest, which he experienced:

The first schoolteacher I had when I entered school was called Chaya. She taught me to write with chalk on a blackboard. Every time I wrote badly, she told me to erase the letters and write another. After I finished, I went to my house at three in the afternoon. The next day I would go back to school. I would write on the blackboard. Writing was another kind of thing. The chalk did not stick well on the blackboard. Afterward, we started to use ink, and I began to learn well. But for a long time, I did not learn how to read. For one year, I couldn't speak Spanish, but I continued writing letters. This schoolteacher left and another came, Mista Munda Gordi. He asked me what my name was, and I told him. He saw that I didn't write the letters well. He was interested. He told me how to do it. Then I began to improve, and my name came out well. He said that the letters were better. He saw that now it was good. "Now you can make capital letters."

Mista Munda used to beat us if we did not make good letters, but I did not know how to make capitals. He told me he would beat me, so I began to do the capitals well. He saw that it was better. When he saw the letters, he gave me a book. In the first year, I finished the book, and he gave me

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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159 212 875 876 *another book that added to the letters I knew. He saw that I was doing well. I began to read out loud, and he listened to see if I read well. Then he heard that I did well, and he gave me another letter to learn. Then he gave me another book, to take to my house.*

["Was he a good teacher?" I asked.]

He beat us if we didn't do the letters well. He would pull my ear and he scolded very much. I began to make the letters better, and I was writing when the schoolmaster left.

A third schoolmaster came and taught in the pueblo. He was named Carmen Urban. We received him. I learned a little more writing. Now when he asked me a letter, I could reply. He saw that I knew all the letters, and he gave me another notebook. I began to write with a pen. With the pen my writing came out well. He saw that it was good and gave me another book. After I finished all that was in the book, he took another writing book out. He told me that I read all the letters well. He gave me a fourth book and a piece of paper. It was a very fine book! But this schoolmaster stayed only three months. Then he left. I did not continue in school since my mother said I should continue to learn only until I know all the letters.

She said, "You are an orphan since you don't have a father. You eat by my strength only. Now that you know your letters well, I want to see how well you can help me because I alone am buying corn and you are only eating it. Now that you know everything, you don't have to go to school because you must accompany me in looking for corn."

She saw that I was too big to stay in the school. She went to talk with the schoolmaster to tell him that I could not return. She told the schoolmaster, "See before your eyes that Ceferino has no father. It is for this that I want him to accompany me looking for corn." The schoolmaster said that I could not go out because I was now learning well. But my mother began to cry before the eyes of the schoolmaster and the president. He lowered his heart and said, "Well, take him then."

I left then. My mother heard and went happily because her boy had come out. When I came out I said "Thank you" to the schoolmaster. He said, "Now you know and go. Don't forget your letters. Take this book, and go on reading in order not to forget." I began to copy all the letters in the book so that I would learn some.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Despite the beating and the scolding, Ceferino recognized that the schoolteachers cared, and this inspired him to learn. He learned to write without any knowledge of the meaning of the words in his first year of schooling, but this did not discourage him. He was among the first four literate Indians in the community.

The program of education for primary schools today is scheduled by the Secretary of Public Education in Mexico City. The teachers conform to this as best they can in the overcrowded, understaffed conditions. The first-year program, according to the book, includes, in addition to reading and math, health studies—basic knowledge of nutrition, social and personal hygiene, the study of the healthful environment, the prevention of diseases and accidents, and first aid. The second-year course includes the study of nature—the sky, earth, seasons, the various changes in the moon, and conservation of natural resources. In the third year of their training the children learn about social life—the child in the home, school, community, and nation. The fourth year includes creative activities—games and artistic expression through learning to play musical instruments and the formation of orchestras, for example. The fifth year teaches practical activities—the construction of toys, work in gardens and other agricultural projects, and the economics of the home; and the program during the sixth year stresses the study of the national language, arithmetic, and geometry. Each of these six sections has a list of the knowledge, habits, abilities, and attitudes the teacher should have formed in the children by the time they have finished the year. The lists become more detailed with each passing year. The amount of material the teacher is expected to cover is impressive.

Mary Marshall's observation of classroom behavior (Appendix 3B) suggests some of the complexities of communicating this standard program in a class of first-year pupils. Inside the schoolroom almost all behavior is initiated and controlled by the teacher. All communication within the school is in Spanish—the teacher ignores responses other than those in Spanish—although most of the children understand no Spanish when they enter school. The regular pattern of question and response is sometimes broken up by demonstration of objects. The children's response is greater when the teacher reverses the pupil-schoolteacher role and lets them ask the questions she tells them. The scarcity of materials imposes a greater bur-

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?"

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out.

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below.

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre-

[P 213-B]

sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *niẖ'anil martoma*, and that the 15 mayordomos were further ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas mamališ* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *ḳobraria*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and the remaining as mayordomos. The four *ḳobrarias* were ranked in terms of the importance and expense of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzo'ontahal is Sacramento *(Sakramentu)*, Virgin Santa

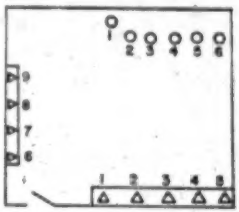

CHART 2 — EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Me'il K'op)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presirente)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Niẖ'anil)*

MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Statal Nakawane)*
2 New judge *(Alẖ' Alkal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Akni'etik)*

Lucia *(Halal Me'tik Santalusia)*, San Pedro Martyr *(Tatik Martil)*, and San Francisco *(Tatik Sanpransisku)*. There was complete agreement among the three informants questioned regarding this rank order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *pišḳal* (in Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent in the past three years was serving as president for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *me'eletik* (or *resadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayermakers). These are usually widowed or single wo-